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Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English, Part II, by Erik Björkman. [*Studien zur Englischen Philologie*, herausgegeben von Lorenz Morsbach XI.] Halle a. S. 1902. Pp. 193-306.

Part I of this work, which dealt with the phonetic criteria of loan from Scandinavian, appeared in 1900.¹ The present part takes up the tests of vocabulary. It is clear that the most reliable tests of loan are those of the form of words, although even here absolute certainty is not always possible. In the test of vocabulary two elements are to be borne in mind : the distribution of a word and its meaning. The author rightly gives primary importance to the former. The test of meaning is to be handled with care ; I have myself elsewhere attributed too much weight to this test. This distribution of unmistakable loan-words, that is in general those tested by phonetic criteria, is of the highest importance in the consideration of words tested by non-phonetic tests. In tests or in districts especially rich in Scandinavian elements, the Scandinavian source of words otherwise (formally) uncertain, is made more probable. In the case of words known to have existed in Scandinavian but not in English before the Danelaw times, we are by no means justified in assuming loan from Norse or Danish. The extent of the native English vocabulary unrecorded in the pre-Danelaw literary monuments we can never know. Nevertheless, right here is where Wall² went too far, in my opinion, when he assumed that words of this class that have cognates in L. G. are thereby proved to be native. Such an assumption disregards considerations that are of the utmost importance for the question. I agree, therefore, absolutely with Björkman, when he says we must not attach any great importance to the existence or non-existence of the word in other Germanic languages, for the chief thing is the distribution in M. E. dialects (see author, p. 196-197). It is not my purpose to discuss in detail this second part of Björkman's work. What I said with regard to method of treatment in the review of Part I, I may reiterate regarding Part II. It is a source of great satisfaction to those interested in the question to find this subject, the relation of O. Scandi-

¹ For reviews of Part I see *Modern Language Notes*, XVII, 386-391 ; *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, XI, 240-243 ; *Centralblatt*, 1901, 978-979 ; *The Athenæum*, No. 3821, and *Archiv. f. d. St. d. n. Spr.*, CVII, 412-419.

² *Anglia* 1898.

navian to M. E., handled in such a masterly and impartial manner. Dr. Björkman's wide training in Germanic philology and his thorough familiarity with Old and Middle English on the one hand and the Old Scandinavian languages on the other, made him especially fitted to deal with this subject. While there remain many questions still waiting for solution, Björkman's work on Scand. elements in M. E. means a great forward step in the study of the relation of Scandinavian and English. If on minor points we may not always subscribe to the author's views, in the main his conclusions must be accepted as sound and definitive. In chapter II, on Non-phonetic loan-word tests, I desire here merely to note a few points.

N. E. *boon*, 'to mend a highway,' is certainly formed on English ground from the Scand. loan-word *bōne*, 'ready, prepared' < E. Scand. *bōin* and not, with Kluge, *Et. Wb.*, from O. E. *bōnian*, 'to polish, burnish.' The difficult word *bike*, 'a nest of wasps, hornets or wild bees, as distinct from the *hive* or *skep* of domestic bees,' 'a swarm,' which occurs in *C. M.* 76 and *Townl. Myst.* 325 and in N. Sco. in Lindsay's *Monarch* as applied contemptuously to 'a swarm of people, a crew,' is, I believe, correctly explained by the Swedish *byke*, 'rabble, mob,' as an extension by means of a *k*-suffix (giving it a collective sense or denoting something appertaining to the stem word) of O. Swed. *bȳ*, 'a bee.' This explains the Swedish *byke*, M. E. *bike*, M. Sco. *bike* and E. dial. *bike*, 'a gathering, an assembly of people' (see pp. 202-204). The M. E. *dingen*, str. vb. 'to beat, knock,' the author derives from O. Dan. *dinge* and not (as I did Sco. *ding*) from O. N. *dengja* (p. 207). Formally, there is certainly contamination between O. N. *festa*, 'to make fast' and M. E. *festen* (author, p. 237), but here also the meaning of the word in certain N. E. diall., in my opinion, indicates Scandinavian influence, See *Journal of Germanic Philology*, 4, p. 13. B.'s explanation of M. E. *famlen*, (which, however, is offered only as a possible one) does not seem to me quite convincing, for the meanings are rather uncertain. Where the meaning is 'to stutter,' (*Rel.* I, 65) it corresponds to Lincsh. dial. *famble* and formally there is no objection to Dan. *famle*, 'to grope, stutter.' However, compare the meaning in *Hali Meidenhad*,¹ 37, 'to put into the mouth' (with a shaky, groping hand?) and the Gloucestershire² word *fammel*, 'to be fam-

¹ *E. E. T. S.* No. 18, 1866.

² *A Glossary of Archaic Words used in the County of Gloucester*, by J. Drummond Robertson, Ldn., 1890, E. D. S. 61.

ished,' and South Warwickshire ¹ *famelled*, 'famished.' The author inclines to regard *bannen*, 'to curse, anathemize, interdict,' independent of Scand. influence. O. E. *bannan*, 'to summon,' cannot very well be the source, so that extraneous influence in the later use of the word seems certain. I have before assumed ² that M. Sco. *ban*, 'to curse, swear,' which occurs in Dunbar and Rolland and commonly in present Sco. Diall., is a loan from O. N. *banna*, similarly used. Mr. Björkman suggests M. Lat. *bannum*, *bannus*, 'a formal ecclesiastical denunciation, anathema, excommunication,' as the starting point and derives the Scand. and North E. meanings both from it. Certainly M. E. *ban*, *banne*, sb. 'excommunication,' is of this origin, and M. E. *bannen* 'to interdict,' is probably also to be thus explained. It is noteworthy, it seems to me however, that the peculiar Scandinavian meaning, 'to swear, curse,' occurs first in Northern dialects and is most common in districts where Scand. elements are especially abundant. I cannot help but think that Sco. N. E. *ban*, in the sense 'to swear,' is due to Scand. influence.

After a brief account of the Scandinavian invasions and settlements (pp. 263-275), B. takes up the question as to how long the Scandinavians in England continued to speak their own language. It is generally supposed that Norse and Danish ceased to exist as spoken languages in the eleventh century, perhaps even in the beginning of the century. B., on the other hand, believes that Scand. was spoken probably as late as the reign of Henry I, 1100-1135.³ Closely connected with this question is that of bilingualism and intra-dialectal loan. The years 860-990 was a period of settlement and conquest. There can be little doubt that the English of the subdued territory learned the language of the invaders. The great similarity between the two idioms must have made the learning of one by the speakers of the other an easy task and their very affinity facilitated and favored intra-dialectal loan. The English and the Scandinavians in the Scandinavian colonies were both bilingual. How thoroughly Scandinavianized these districts were may be seen from the fact that 'The English residing in the Scandinavian colonies adopted the Scandinavian style of dress. As late as 1084 the population of Northumberland is said to have dressed

¹ *South Warwickshire Provincialisms*, by Mrs. Francis.

² *Scand. Infl. on S. Lowl. Sco.*, p. 27.

³ See the author's argument, pp. 275-280.

after the Scandinavian fashion ; when, in this year, the Danish King threatened to invade Northumberland, the inhabitants were commanded to assume another way of dressing, in order not to be taken for friends by the Danes.'¹ Only on the theory of the bilingualism of the English can the extensive Scand. elements in M. E. and Eng. diall. be satisfactorily explained. It is Björkman's merit to have appreciated the significance of this point and to have stressed it as he has throughout his work. 'The Celtic languages in England have not influenced English to any considerable extent. The Celts had to learn English and because of that the Celtic languages adopted numerous English ingredients, whereas the English were not obliged to learn any Celtic idiom, and, therefore, their language was left practically intact by the languages of the Celts. Cornish was, before its final extinction, very rich in English elements, but the present dialect of Cornwall does not contain any large amount of words of Cornish origin.'² In short, it is not so much the foreign language, learned by an individual or by a whole population, that adopts peculiarities from the original language ; on the contrary, such peculiarities are adopted on a much larger scale by the original language from the language which is learned.³ The evidence of the Cornwall dialect may be supplemented by other English (Scotch) dialects on the Celtic border or such as have been transplanted on Celtic soil. Where the population is almost wholly or predominantly of Celtic descent, the sounds of the dialect may show traces of Celtic influence, but it is a fact that these dialects are remarkably free from Celtic elements lexicographically. In the dialects of the Eng.-Sco. settlers of the counties of Antrim and Down in Northern Ireland, Irish words are rare. Nor is the Gælic element any larger in the border settlements in Scotland. We may compare the condition in the bilingual Norse settlements in America. In the Norse dialect of Utica, Wisconsin, f. i. there are 700 words of English origin in ordinary every-day use, many of which are so changed in form, so thoroughly Scandinavianized that the speakers themselves are often unaware of their English origin. Their English, however,

¹ Author, p. 276-7, note quoting Lappenberg, *Gesch. von England*, II, p. 142 and Worsaal, *Minder*, p. 224.

² Referring to Jago, *The Ancient Language and the Dialect of Cornwall*, 1882.

³ On this see Windisch : *Zur Theorie der Mischsprachen und Lehnwörter*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 101 ff.

is practically free from Norse words.¹ The conditions here, to be sure, are somewhat different, but, nevertheless, these facts are significant, as illustrating the theory of loan and language mixture.

To the author's former study of the dialectal provenience of the Scand. loan-words he offers a contribution on pp. 281-288. I no longer believe that the words *apert*, 'bold,' *bauch*, 'awkward,' *chynigill*, 'gravel,' *duds*, 'clothes,' *ramstam*, 'boisterous,' or *dapill*, 'gray,' can be regarded as Scand. loan-words with any great degree of probability, nor that *brod*, 'to incite,' *dowless*, 'worthless,' *fell*, 'mountain,' *wick*, 'to cause to turn,' argue much for W. Scand. as opposed to E. Scand. influence; so that I do not hesitate to accept Björkman's views where he disagrees with me, p. 284, as to the significance of these words for the question of provenience. The dialectal provenience of the loan-words, however, I cannot enter into here. I will simply note, that the author offers a list of 32 words of distinct or probable W. Scand. origin and 16 words of distinct or probable E. Scand. origin, the great bulk of the loan-words, of course, affording no evidence for the question.

The phonology of the loan-words is discussed on pp. 288-305. To the whole is added a very complete index of all words discussed or referred to, to which is appended a list of abbreviations, which, however, is not sufficiently complete. Finally, let it be said that the author's English is excellent, un-English constructions being extremely rare.

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¹ See *Dialect Notes*, New Haven, Vol. II, Part IV, pp. 257-258.